344 [412] they pass the band back and forth through the wall. For drilling holes into the bark pieces, they use an awl (nsoñ I). Just as we hammer nails in a straight line, the Pangwe also must fasten the various longitudinal strips in precise lines (see Fig. 35). In the case of raffia mats, because of the little spikes that have been mentioned (the same, incidentally, also frequently applies to the bark pieces), the laths are usually placed so closely one on top of the other that very little or nothing of the mats remains visible (as in Fig. 33). In the same manner as the bark, the pieces of raffia pith are held fast between the boards; strips of pith are placed next to each other from top to bottom, and at longer intervals they are tied to the boards.

The treatment of the walls varies greatly, except that the gable walls are always completely closed. The rear wall, which is never absent, usually has a few window openings, one in the middle in the form of a square or a rectangle and one on each side in the form of a horizontal, longitudinal slit. /Fig. 26 appears here in the original text./ /65/ The central opening is commonly used as both window and door, but it is so small that it requires some skill to squeeze through it. At the same place, however, there may be doors in our sense of the term, which extend to the ground and may or may not have a threshold.

The front wall may be identical with the back wall /Fig. 27 appears here in the original text/ (in other words, it is closed except for window openings on either side and in the middle); it may be only half as high; it may be no more than a parapet or a trellis made of raffia stalks; or, finally, it may be lacking on one side or be completely absent.

The roof is frequently made to project in front to such an extent that /Fig. 27b appears here in the original text/ /66/ a covered veranda is formed, held up by a few posts (omvimvi,); sometimes the front area is closed off in front or at the sides by a parapet or trellis. A wooden beam which serves as a threshold prevents the rain that drips off the roof from running into the house (1).

1. When the house has been completed, the soil inside is usually moistened, and for a few days banana leaves are placed on it so the ground may become "strong," as they say.

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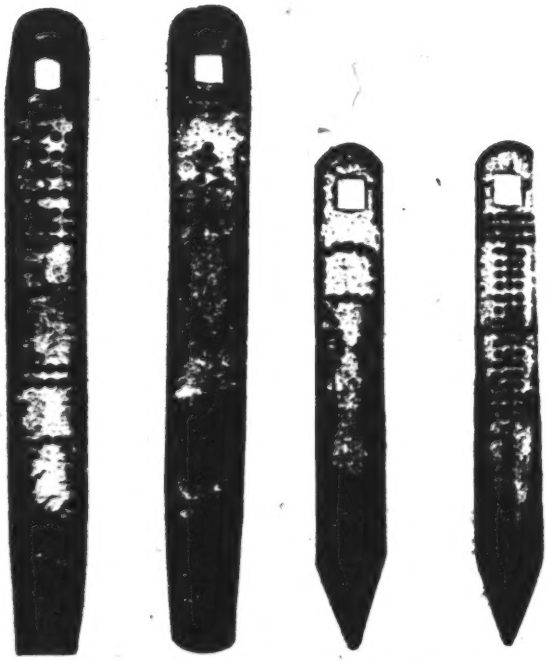

Fig. 31. Rifle Stands. Owöng (Essandöng Family), Fang.

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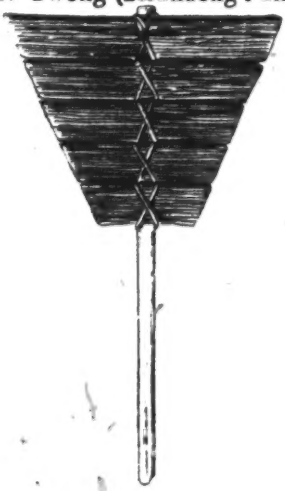

Fig. 32. Fan for the Fire.

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its edge with ornamental chip carving. It is placed on the ground, often in the vicinity of the door posts, and is considered, so to speak, as a place of honor -- for strangers and the paterfamilias -- like our sofa.

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As a final household implement the sweeper should be mentioned. It appears in various forms, depending on whether it is used in the dwelling, for the benches of the meeting house, for the meeting house floor, or for the village square.

For the house a broom evũ̀ a[k], Figure 41 a, is used, made of raffia leaves tied together in the shape of a fan. "More elegant" brooms are used by the Jaunde for the benches of the meeting houses. These are made of pieces of liana stalks, Ertela scandens Benth., Leguminosae, called ntṹ (b), or of the flowers of the oil palm (c). The pieces of liana stalk are slit so that they form something like a brush; these brooms therefore correspond more or less to our dusters. A third form of broom (Fig. 42) consists of two little wooden boards tied with strips to a handle. /Fig. 39 appears here in the original text./ /76/ It resembles our snow shovels, but it is by no means to be found in every village, and even where it is found it is infrequently used.

[824]

In the preceding descriptions the reader will have been struck by the frequency with which the raffia palm is mentioned as construction material. It is indeed true that this palm, called "bamboo" in Negro English, is by far the most important and most valuable plant

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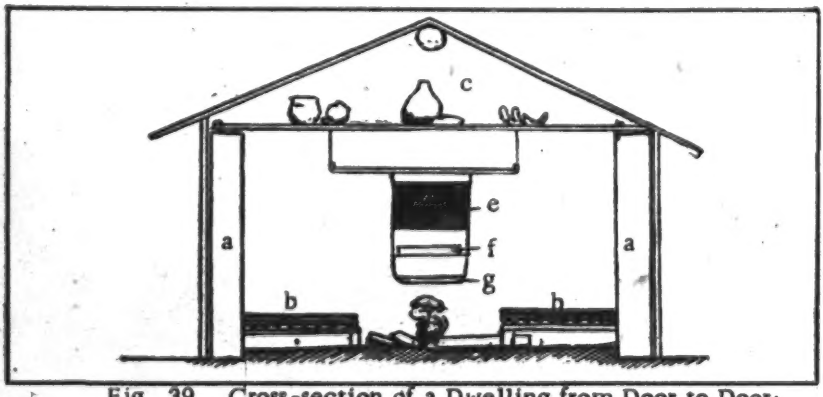


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Fig. 39. Cross-section of a Dwelling from Door to Door: a, door posts; b, sleeping benches; c, pot loft; d, loft for drying groundnuts; e, pantry; f and g, roasting boards.

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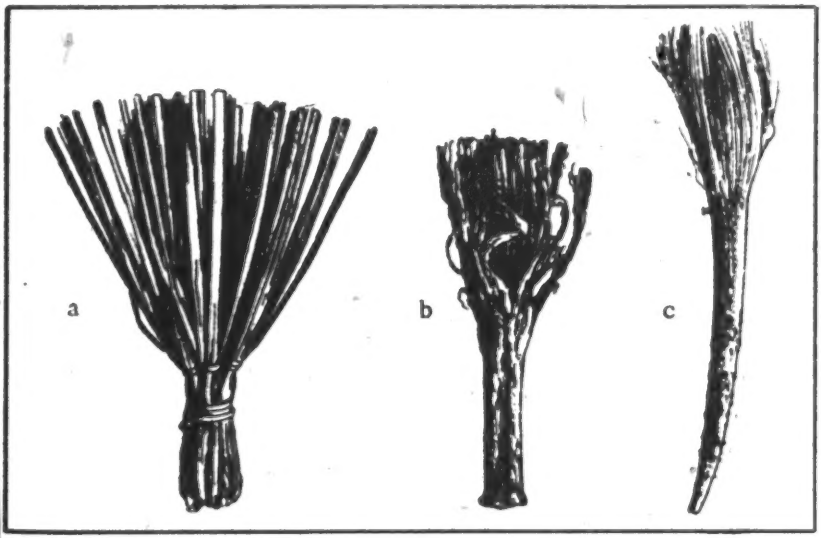


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Fig. 41. Sweepers:
a, brooms for dwellings; b and c, dusters for meeting houses.

24. Knife sheathes (pith).
25. Sticks for preparing the clay blast pipe (stalks).
26. Casting molds for founding brass rings (halved stems).
27. Kindling, ekă'ba (stalk strips).
28. Ropes (bast).
29. Pipe bowls (made of the fruit kernels); see Section 6, page 164.
30. Needles, sewing needles (pith).
31. Fire fans (pith).

VI. Trapping Implements, Weapons

32. Fish baskets, ayă', ngŏ dĕgo, nsŏ n.
33. Fish weirs, olă'm.
34. Noose for spring traps (fiber).
35. Bow trap of the Jaunde for rats (ebā'dē).
36. "Spears" against sorcery.

VII. Musical Instruments

37. Raffia instrument, myŏt (made of the stalks).
38. Guitar, ndŏnga (made of the pith, the bridge of stalk strips).

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Fig. 43. Resin Lamp, Fang.

Fig. 42. Dirt Shovel for Cleaning the Meeting House, Ntum.

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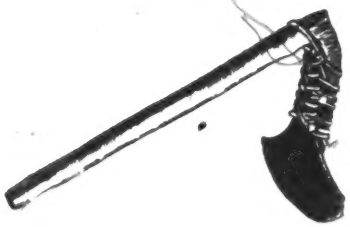

Fig. 48. Hoe.

Fig. 49. Ax.

Fig. 50. Bush Knife.

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[673]

the other hand, fallen enemies are consumed by some of them on exceptional occasions. The accounts have it that this form of cannibalism does not by any means for religious reasons, but rather represents an act of revenge carried to its extreme; the enemy is degraded to the level of an animal and is consumed like an animal. I have never heard it said that relatives or members of the same kin group are killed and eaten; indeed, in the eyes of the Fang this would constitute an incredible crime. Far to the south, especially toward the southeast where the Pangwe have been fundamentally modified through mixture with neighboring tribes, anthropophagy may be somewhat more

[412] Fig. 91. Spearhead Knife for cutting up a Slain Person.

[177] frequent. It is most likely, in any case, that the practice /144/ /Fig. 91 appears here in the original text/ was taken over in the first place from the eastern border tribes, especially the Njem who are notorious in this respect.

262 Thus, meat is principally supplied by animals, and here the Pangwe does not even stop at the thick skin of the elephant; he finds almost everything edible. Among mammals, only the shrew, house rat, and the dwarf squirrel Sciurus pumilio Leconte (mvūkesŏn) are not eaten. Also, the following are not eaten: among reptiles, the chameleon, the lizard Lygosoma fernandi Burt. (ebŭmekūkūī), and the Agama colonorum Daud. (ngŏdŏ III); similarly, among amphibians, the toads Bufo superciliaris Blgr. (mvŭn IV) and Bufo latifrons Blgr. (dzŭn; plural, biŭn, mŭn), as well as the frog Rana mascareniensis D. and B. (nkŏ'n I). The reasons why these animals are never eaten I shall discuss in conjunction with the general food prohibitions in Section 13 /Ed., Vol. II/.

262 In addition to the spices, the Pangwe use oil as an additive for their food. The oil is obtained from the oil palm Elaeis guineensis L. (alĕn) and the Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl. (adźăb), but it is extracted so rarely that its use in the kitchen is far secondary to its use for the care of the skin. For this reason I shall discuss the extraction of oil when I come to speak of skin care.

354 The kitchen of the Pangwe woman is located, as we have already seen, in the house under the suspension loft. There is no actual hearth in it; among the Mwai this is represented by three rocks, but for the rest the pot which is always without legs is placed on a potsherd or on the skillfully arranged logs of the fire. If at any time there is more than usual to be cooked, for instance, after a successful elephant hunt, the daily fireplace is too small, and a second one is built behind the house.

313 For cooking -- as every little Pangwe girl knows -- three things are necessary: wood, water, and fire. There is never any shortage of wood; every day the housewife brings the necessary logs from the plantation (Fig. 51). Water is likewise available in great quantities; it merely has to be taken from the river in calabashes (ndŏk IV) or -- among the Ntum and Okak -- in earthenware water flasks (Fig. 92a), Pangwe esŭ̆gă (hence the name šŭ̆k, an imitation of the gurgling sound made by the water as it is poured in; hence also a-šŏk "waterfall"). We discussed the fire in the previous section.

312 445

412 252 The kitchen utensils of the woman are very simple. The grindstone (akŏk) and the little round rubbing stone (ngŏk IV) that goes with it are found everywhere. The grindstone is irregularly flat, scoured smooth by the rubbing done on it, and it usually lies on the ground on which the woman kneels in front of the stone she works. Among the Mwai, who are somewhat more advanced in the art of cooking anyway, the stone is placed on four small posts like a table, a fact which considerably "raises" it in appearance. Groundnuts, ngon, and so forth are rubbed to a powder by rolling the rubbing stone back and forth on the grindstone. The same purpose is served by an almost round wooden plate which has the shape of a stemmed leaf with raised edges (evĭn-ndŏk, efeĭ-ndŏk); it is used for the kernels of the Irvingia barteri Hook. f. (andŏ́k; fruit, ndŏ́k IV), Figure 93; the grinder used with this plate is a hard fruit (asŏ́k), round as a ball.

415 The Pangwe woman very tidily removes the remains of the
252 pulverized nuts or kernels from the grindstone by means of half the shoulder blade bone of some animal, such as a monkey (Fig. 94 a), a piece of raffia stalk, or a tree mushroom (Fig. 94b ). Only rarely does she do this by hand.

412 For pounding cassava leaves and other vegetables, as well as
252 for removing the meat from the fruit of the oil palm, a pestle is used in a wooden trough. The pestle (ntú'm e mbǭk) has a knobby enlargement either at both ends or at only one end /150/, and the trough (mbǭk I) usually has the shape of a canoe with one or, more rarely, two handles (Fig. 95). In the Mwai and southern Fang region one can find larger wooden troughs of a quadrangular shape and small wooden troughs with or without /Fig. 92 a appears here in the original text/ handles (Fig. 96), endǒn.

Plantains are peeled with a plantain peeler (mbŏb I), Figure 97, with which the skin is chipped into pieces and scraped off. The peeler consists of a narrow piece of raffia leafstalk, and it is often attractively decorated with carved patterns.

415 The shallow basketwork plate (dzžǎd; plural, biǎd) -- see Section 8 -- which we have already discussed among the agricultural and fishing tools, also plays an important role in the house and kitchen, where it serves simultaneously as bowl, dish, plate, and so forth. The women have a large selection of the bigger plates (dzžǎd) and smaller plates (ovžǒk) of this kind on hand. Sometimes one also sees wooden plates or, more accurately, wooden bowls of the same shape as the basket plates (1).

[824] 1. Made from the wood of the Alstonia congensis Engl. (ekūk), Apocynacea, or of the Ceiba pentandra (L.) Gärtn. (dum).

The kitchen spoon or stirring spoon (mbŏb I, ebŏm), which must be strictly differentiated from the eating spoon, /Figs. 93 and 94 appear here in the original text/ is carved out of wood (Fig. 98) and is used for stirring food, mixing vegetables, and dividing the mush.

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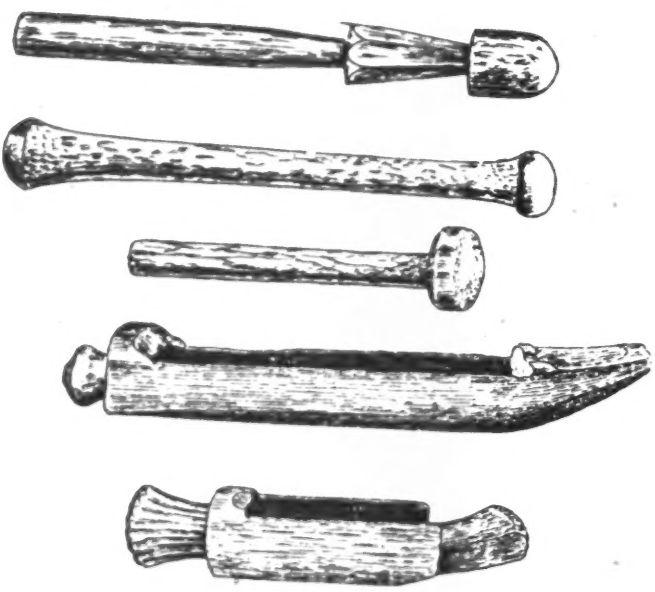

Fig. 95. Wooden Troughs with Pestles.

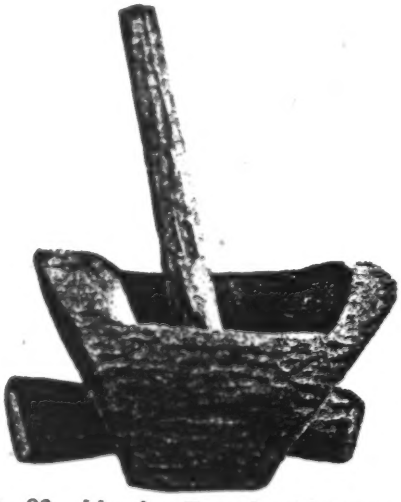

Fig. 96. Wooden Trough with Pestle.

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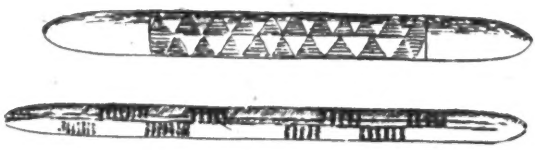

Fig. 97. Plantain Peelers.

252 (nkʉ̀ha-mbʉ̌n), and steamed cassava (amǎ́hǎ-mbʉ̌n), neither of them very tasty or very carefully prepared. The three remaining ways of preparing cassava are in the main designed for men, namely: cassava rolls, the so-called "kanks" (2) (ebɔ̀bɔ̌), the

2. The origin of this word is not clear to me; I do not know whether it was taken from Negro languages or whether it is a European word corrupted in coastal English.

exclusive food on journeys because of their handy shape; cassava cutlets (osā-mbʉ̌n); and finally, boiled cassava roots (agbwǎ ma-mbʉ̌n). In the entire region there is uniformity in the matter of cassava dishes, with the sole exception that the stirrup-shaped leaf rolls are also now and then eaten by men among the Ntum and Fang.

Because of its strong smell, cassava -- which could perhaps replace our potato -- has no great appeal to European taste, especially in the forms in which the Negroes prepare it. The sausage-shaped cassava rolls in the north, where the roots are first placed in clean, running water, most readily please our palates, in spite of their pasty odor. To make them tasty, one has to cut them into slices in the European fashion or pulverize them, mix with an egg, and fry them in butter. The kanks in the south are very bad, because there the roots are placed in the swamp for a while prior to preparation and hence take on a quite repulsive muddy odor.

302 824 of wood (Fig. 139, b-d) and those put together from short sticks of raffia leafstalk bark (Fig. 139, a). Frequently a fragrant hair powder (akūt), used by members of either sex but made only by women, is added to the oil. In preparing it, the roots of the following four plants are mixed together:

1. Cyperacea Cyperus articulatus L. (andǎk);
2. Moracea Dorstenia scabra (Bureau) Engl. (azǒ'm Fang);
3. Urticacea Trymatococcus africanus H. Baillon (ngǭ'nǎ III);
4. An undetermined grass called niasǎda.

/Figs. 139 and 140 appear here in the original text./ /189/ /Fig. 141 appears here in the original text./ In any case, they mix two or three of these roots if they cannot get all four of them. The roots have to dry for two months in the hut and are then completely ground to a powder -- in the case of the Trymatococcus this is done only with the bark -- and they are then sifted through a basketwork plate by tapping it with a knife (a kūt, "to tap"). The roots produce an agreeably scented yellowish powder.

302 827 The Pangwe dislike hair on the rest of the body as much as they dislike it on the face. Underarm hair is shaved off with a razor (Fig. 140) "because of the bad smell"; pubic hair is shaved off -- again by both sexes -- because it is believed to cause itching. /Fig. 142 appears here in the original text./ There are, of course, always people, like good old Otu-Mfǒǒ, who will not bother with this kind of attention to the body.

412 Just as we use pocket knives, the native uses /190/ one-edged or two-edged knives (okǒń), Figures 141 and 142, which he forges himself and carries in sheaths made of brass, leather, hide, etc. at his belt.

515 164 The farther north one goes in the region, the more industriously do the Pangwe brush their teeth. This is done with a stick spliced at the top (Fig. 143) which at times is attractively wound with brass and wire and often serves as a walking stick. Nevertheless the Pangwe do not have nearly such good teeth as one might imagine. Among the Fang at least I never once saw an immaculate set of teeth among adults. The molars are often astonishingly poor, but the front teeth, on the other hand, which are commonly chipped to a point, are better preserved, perhaps because they alone are properly brushed.

1: Tessmann--191 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

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The most important toilet article of both sexes is unquestionably the small oil pot. As often as possible, the Pangwe rub themselves with oil from head to toe, but above all they take care of their hair or, as the case may be, their hairdo. One reason for this, as they say, is that they find the smell of the oil pleasant; a second is that the skin becomes more supple and resistant, in other words, it is a hygienic reason. Add to this the fact -- as was mentioned above --

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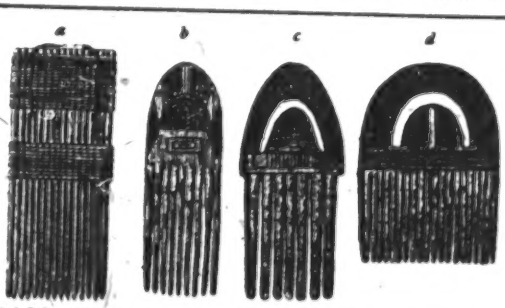


Fig. 139. Combs: (a) made of raffia leafstalk, (b-d) made of wood.

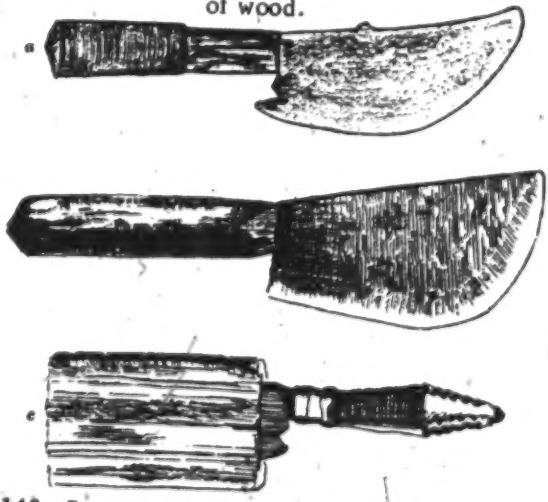


Fig. 140. Razors, (c) with a sheath made of raffia pith.

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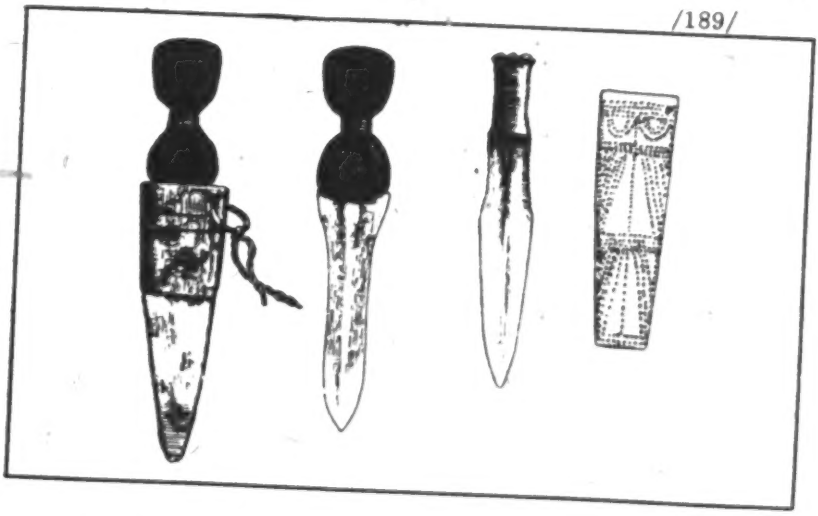

Fig. 141. Two-edged Fang Knives with Sheaths.

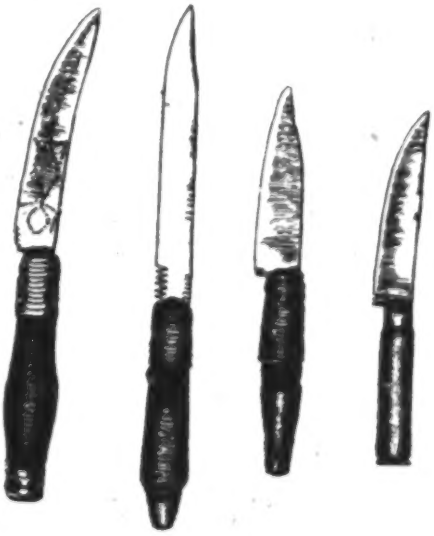

Fig. 142. Single-edged Fang Knives.

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Fig. 147. Scraper for Red Wood (Husk of the Pentaclethra).

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Fig. 148. Vessels for Red Wood.

the Ntum it is called abe ndĕm or kūdemă'n IV.

The names fi na (mfĭ'na) and kūdemă'n also designate the painting of the body itself. /Fig. 150 appears here in the original text./

The Randia is a slender tree belonging to the Rubiaceae and grows especially in the vicinity of rivers. Its large whitish blossoms hang from the ends of the twigs or from the forks in the

Fig. 149. Knife for Making Decorative Scars.

branches; its fruit is a berry covered with a number of protuberances running from top to bottom. To obtain the dye a short stick of bark from a raffia leafstalk is drilled into the base of the fruit and stirred about in the contents of the fruit. When the stick is pulled out, a whitish, fairly thick juice sticks to its tip, and with the same stick this is painted directly onto the body in the desired patterns; /198/ after a brief period of time the dye

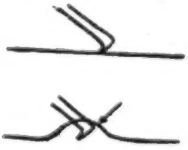

Fig. 150. Making the Incision for a Decorative Scar.

takes on a deep blue-black coloring. The paint stays on the skin from three to four days; in cases of more frequent washing, only two. Afterwards it simply disappears.

Nowadays only small or half-grown boys paint themselves for sport. In former times, however, young people of both sexes did it in order to be conspicuous and in this way to make an impression upon the opposite sex. In those days, therefore, great care was taken with the patterns. Today, only smeared patterns result from the children's lack of skill. /Fig. 151 appears here in the original text./

since they first sought a container, e.g., for the skull of the dead, in order to preserve it; hence, the suffix aka). A bark vessel is also, as it were, the grave (n-so-n), for the body of the dead person lies in it in a trough made of bark, which sometimes is closed off with a lid of the same material (passive, since first the place where the body happened to be lying, whether in the house or out in the open, n sɔ́ń, was named; hence, the passive suffix ń).

(b) Bark cloth.

Bark is made into cloth by pounding it with a beater (Fig. 159) made from the end of an elephant's tooth (d), half an elephant's rib (b, c), the horn of a white-backed duikerbok Cephalophus longiceps Gray (mvũ IV), or the wood of the Leguminosa Eurypetalum tessmannii Harms (andzĭtsiń) (a). For this purpose, they do not take the wood of a freshly cut trunk, but rather the harder red wood /Fig. 158 appears here in the original text/ of old trees that have been felled a long time ago. The wooden beater has about the same shape as the mallets used by our carpenters and consists of a straight handle with a roller-shaped head which is grooved around half or all of its circumference.

The only suitable bark for bark cloth is that of fig trees (etɔ̃́b = fig tree [Ficus] and cloth, clothing) (2). /208/

2. The following varieties are used in the Pangwe region:
Ficus globicarpa Warb. var. (embĭɔ̃́ń);
Ficus cfr. wildemaniana Warb. (adzǎ́b-etɔ̃b);
Ficus bubu Warb. (akɔ̃́-etɔ̃b);
Ficus stellulata Warb. (etĭ́tɔ̃́, root to(b) reduplicated);
Ficus preussii Warb. and laurentii Warb. (etɔ̃́b, etɔ̃́b-o-jɔ̃b, ejɛ̃́ĭ, akǎ́m);
Ficus barteri Sprague (asǎ́mentúmo Fang, asǎ́mentüɛ́me Ntum);

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and furthermore the varieties the Pangwe call abắń, andŭ̀m, undŭ́m, and ngus.

/Fig. 159 appears here in the original text./ The most widespread varieties are Ficus globicarpa, stellulata, preussii and laurentii, barteri, abắń, and andŭ́m. The best cloth -- it is [345] almost pure white -- is provided by Ficus globicarpa Warb. (embiŏ̀n) which in former times was planted near the villages. This tree is preferred by the women, who "attach more importance to clothing" than men.

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Whenever possible, smooth young tree trunks, no more than eight to ten centimeters thick, are chosen. A piece is cut out

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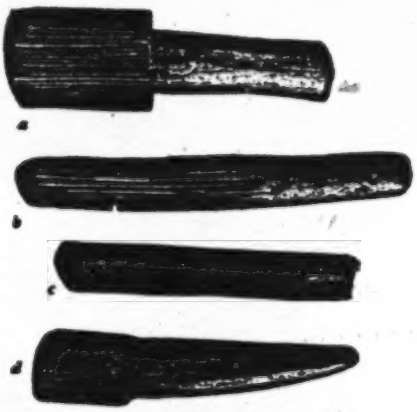

Fig. 158. Beaters for Bark Cloth.
(a) of wood, (b) and (c) of elephant's rib,
(d) from an elephant's tooth.

of the trunk and left lying in the open for half a day or a whole day. Then it is scorched evenly over a small fire, whereupon the outer bark is removed by scraping until the bast layer is completely exposed. Then this layer is cut up lengthwise, loosened by tapping it with the beater, and taken off with the fingers or by means of a stick pushed under it. The bast layer thus taken off is then pounded on some kind of support, for instance, on a tree trunk or a wooden drum. The pounding is

415 285 [462] [824] 1. Women's hanging baskets (nkŭ̄n I). Unlike most other baskets, these are also manufactured by women. They are made from strips of the stalk bark of Sarcophrynium velutinum K. Sch. (stalk, ndɛ̆̄n, ndɛ̆̄nă̄n IV). They display considerable variation, both in size and pattern (Fig. 166). /Fig. 166 appears here in the original text. /

415 285 412 462 2. Carrying baskets (nkŏɛ̃́ I), which are used only once, are woven in wide meshes from stalks of the Sarcophrynium by men and women whenever their regular baskets are not available or not available in sufficient numbers, or if they want to spare the baskets. Thus, they would use the carrying baskets, for instance, in

[531]

Fig. 166. Women's Hanging Baskets.

order to transport the bloody flesh of a freshly killed elephant into the village and for similar purposes.

285 445 3. Baskets for the oil press and for carrying earth (ekŭ̄t, ekŭ̄t-ăzŭ̄ĭ' = oil press baskets, ekŭ̄t-ebɛ̂ = earth baskets). The first is used to squeeze out oil from the pulp of the fruit (ăzŭ̄ĭ') of the oil palm or raffia palm; the second, to remove the earth that is dug out when pits (ebɛ̂) are made. Both baskets are braided from Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum Becc. (nkɛ̄ne) (1).

[824]

[412] 1. I once saw a knife sheath woven entirely from bush rope (Oncocalamus), Figure 167.

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Fig. 167. Knife Sheath.

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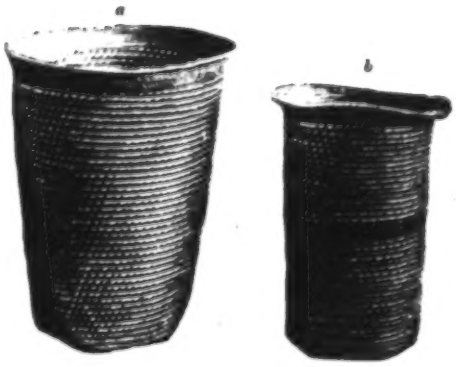

Fig. 168. Small Carrying Baskets.

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6. House doors
7. Dugouts
8. Oar blade
9. Troughs
10. Pestles
11. Rubbing board for Irvingia kernels
12. Stirring spoons
13. Eating spoons
14. Wooden plates
15. Pots for oil
16. Flasks for powder
17. Bowls for red wood
18. Chiefs' sticks
19. Walking sticks
20. Rifle stands
21. Bark tapper /220/
22. Pipes
23. Cutlass sheaths (antiquated)
24. Bellows
25. Dog bells
26. Stools
27. Crossbows
28. Spear handles
29. Shields
30. Talking drums
31. Hide drums
32. Harps
33. Wooden musical pipes
34. Wooden flutes
35. Xylophone keys
36. Whizzers
37. Jaunde playing counters
38. Wooden Phalli
39. Stilts
40. Memory games
41. Arm rings
42. Ancestral figures
43. Masks for the moon cult

To describe in detail the manner in which all these objects are manufactured is impossible within the scope of this account. Hence, as examples, I shall merely touch on the making of cutlass sheaths, stools, and stirring and eating spoons.

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The now obsolete cutlass sheaths -- called such by the natives; in reality, they do not encase the cutter but only form a pouch in which it is carried -- are rectangular in shape, with concave longitudinal sides. They are made in the following manner. A longish board about one centimeter thick is cut from the wood of the umbrella tree; this board is cut up into two equal rectangles. With a red-hot cutlass the narrow sides are made smooth and the long sides are rounded inward and also made smooth. On one surface the boards are hollowed out in the form of a rectangle, and at the corners holes are drilled through them with a red-hot gun rod. Then the two boards are placed one on top of the other, with the hollowed surfaces facing each other, and tied together with bush rope. The outer surfaces frequently are decorated with simple patterns burned into them. Finally, the sheath is provided with a carrying strap of animal hide.

[531]

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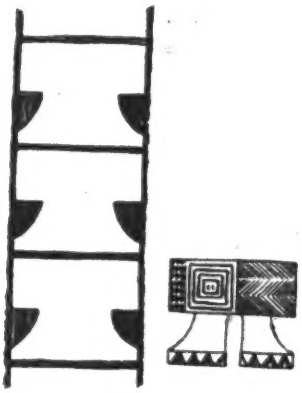

Fig. 172. Stages in Making a Stool.

322 The explanation lies in a kind of principle of reciprocity, a princi-
476 ple clearly stated in the educational precepts to be discussed in a
435 later section /Ed., Vol II/, that is, the seller counts upon the fact that later he will need his client who is in turn a specialist in the manufacture of some kind of article (basketwork plates, for instance), and he then expects to be treated in the same lenient manner. As a result of the excessive division of labor, everyone [443] is dependent upon everyone else, and this dependence keeps the prices down. Wherever this dependence is absent, the prices go up. Europeans, for instance, with whom such a silent agreement does not exist, pay considerably more, ten or twenty times more, and at the same time they have to put up with inferior work as well.

322 Moreover, the sale of objects manufactured for household use
434 is not regarded as an enterprise for profit. When I asked a stool
554 maker whom I had befriended what his business brought in, he first

[412]

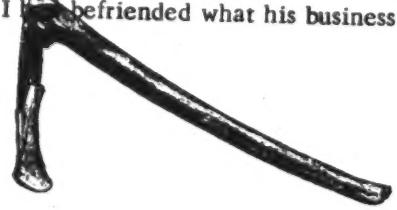

Fig. 173. Adz.

322 434 554 had to ponder for a long time and finally said that every month he made about ten stools for two spears (14 pfennigs) apiece, and that he therefore earned 20 spears (1.40 marks); with this income, he said, he had /Fig. 173 appears here in the original text/ bought brass ornaments for himself, and the rest he had put aside as marriage money, but that did not bother him since he considered his art a matter of honor. /222/

322 415 The manufacture of stirring spoons (mbŏ̄b) is, like their form, fairly simple. From a tree trunk (1) a flat piece of wood is cut out

[824] 1. The following three trees are used: Alchornea caloneura Pax (ndămabā, III); Hasskarlia didymostemon Baill. (efŭ́ṓle Ntum, dzĭ́ III, nyṓle III); and Kickxia elastica Preuss (emvila).

and crudely cut to shape with a bush knife. Then the spoon is hollowed out in the following manner. A chisel (ojĕn), Figure 174, and a simple heavy piece of wood for a hammer are used to make a transverse groove between bowl and handle, and the wood is removed piece by piece by blows aimed at it. The more delicate work is done by shaving with a chisel or knife. The finished spoon is usually rubbed with redwood. The people themselves do not know why this is done. In answer to my question, my friend Nto-Ndanga offered the following remark by way of an answer: "Look here, I am a Black myself, but the Blacks have no sense. I have long asked myself why the stirring spoons are rubbed with redwood because that way dirt (that is, the redwood) gets into the food!" The various forms of the stirring spoon are shown in Figure 98.

Somewhat more effort is required to make the ladling spoons (tōk), Figure 175. They are made primarily from the wood of the [824] Carpodinus tessmannii Gilg (ebắm), more rarely from the Kickxia elastica Preuss (emvila). A block of wood in the shape of a cylinder halved lengthwise is taken from the timber and cut into the shape of the spoon by means of careful, layer by layer removal of the wood [142] (see Fig. 176), first with the cutlass (a), then with the adz (b). The bowl is then further hollowed out with the spoon scraper (fŏ́nege-tōk), Figure 177.

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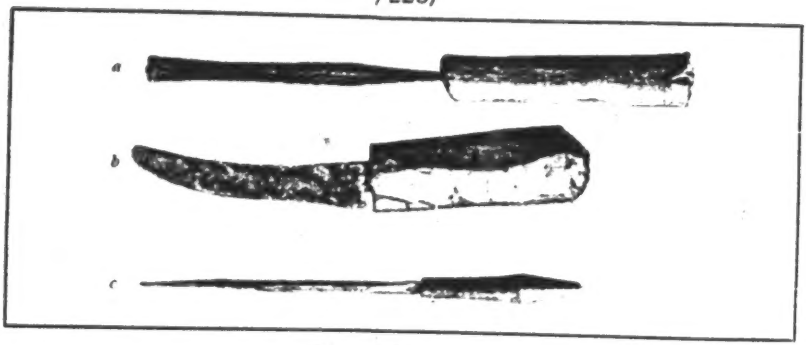

Fig. 174.
(a) Chisel, (b) Saw, and (c) Awl.

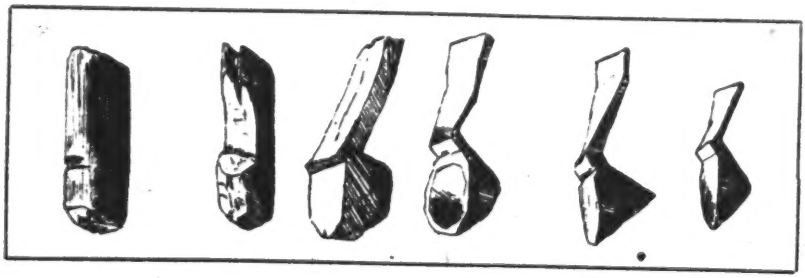

Fig. 175. Making a Ladling Spoon.

Fig. 176. Stages in Making a Ladling Spoon.
Longitudinal Section.

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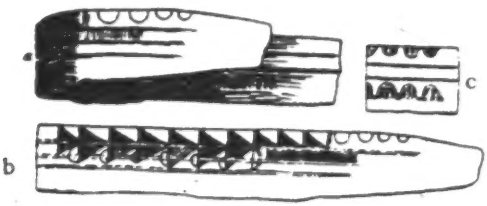


Fig. 177. Spoon Scrapers.
(a) Complete; (b) pattern of the outer side unrolled; (c) part of the pattern of the inner side.

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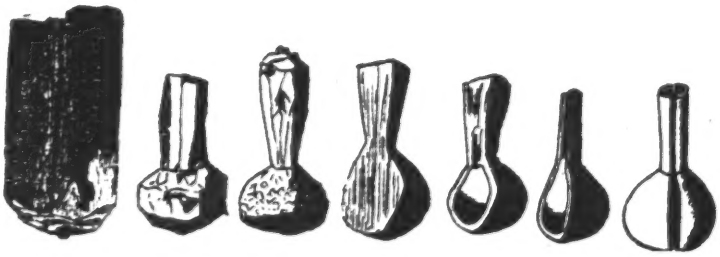

Fig. 178. Making a Powder Flask from Wood.

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out of them in the middle. Into these slits is stuck either an ordinary knife (see Fig. 179) or -- and this is most frequently the case -- a special blade /Fig. 176 appears here in the original text/ with two cutting edges of which one is like that of a knife and the other like that of a saw (Fig. 180). This very practical combination permits /224/ the craftsman to dig the longitudinal furrows in the shaft of the spear with the same tool. The blade is simply /Fig. 177 appears here in the original text/ taken out and reversed, that is, it is set in again with the toothed edge downward.

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[511
556] distribution of cacao plantations is neither the only nor perhaps the principal cause of inequality. Cacao production is on a considerable scale: around 50, 000 tons in the Cameroons, 3, 000 tons in Gabon (4).

[433]

4. Almost the whole of the Gabon output comes from the Woleu-N'Tem region and especially the Ntoumou cantons. (P. A.)

It is easy to understand that this crop is an essential factor in the
182 evolution /sic/ of Pahouin society.
245 In the field of common law, for example, cacao has affected the orientation of land law. By giving each person the possibility of making /33/ private profits, cacao has increased the independence of men and even of women from family authority. Because it allows the accumulation of durable and tranferable goods, cacao has raised, in a new form, the problem of successional devolution /inheritance/.

To consider only the realm of technology: settling on the land during several generations has apparently put an end to real nomadism; villages are no longer moved about. But a certain amount of shifting cultivation will remain inevitable if some method of rapid reclamation of fallow land is not adopted.

245 The stock of tools has increased considerably. An axe with a small,
42 narrow head ending in a tongue was fastened into the large end of a wooden handle, a daba similarly made but with a rounder head and lighter handle (1) and a machete were formerly the basic implements.

[284]

1. The tongue of the hoe, driven into a branch like a spike, is also bound to it with liana. Old women still use the digging stick, which has or had some ritual significance. (P. A.)

To these must now be added pruning shears, caterpillar destroyer or a local copy, and cacao spear.

245 Boxes or baskets provide vats for fermenting the /cacao/ beans, a roof shades the trays on which they are put to dry. Some men have thought of buying Vermorel vaporizers for spraying the cacao trees; others dream of mowing machines for clearing the land.

779 782 having been offended by some nsem or ritual impurity, by the violation of an éki, etc., whence the necessity of appeasing the totem. The greater the misfortune, the more serious must have been the cause or the fault, even though involuntary, and the more to be expiated by a larger sacrifice. [508]

At the basis of all general rites concerned with the race, we find sacrifice in one form or another, either bloody "communional," or bloody and not "communional," or not bloody, or simply as an offering.

In these sacrifices the victim is often the totem itself. But in that case there will always have been a previous offering of another victim. That victim may sometimes be the officiant himself, as in circumcision, when the sacrificer or operator is but an agent.

## II. Lustral Water; médzim akum

779 782 783 [824] In almost all totemic sacrifices, lustral water is used. The practitioner boils water in a clay pot, making an infusion with various plants. The most commonly used are: ava, a sort of fragrant labiate; asèp, a strong-smelling mint; esun (hua gabonensis), a tree with a garlicky smell; esèp (monodora myristica), with an equally strong scent; and in addition, the leaves of elun, ombien, and several others. Nearly always eleven plants are used, which must have been picked at the new moon. To these are added a few pieces of meteorite and the remains of a sacrifice offered to the tribal totem, consisting of ashes, bone, and a few bits of horn or hoof, also a little dried blood.

Before beginning, the practitioner or head of the family dips his hands in the lustral water. With this he sprinkles the participants, using a dè, (1) a kind of fly swatter usually made

● [412]

1. The dè is the insignia of chiefs. In former times, only they were allowed to use an elephant's tail as a fly swatter, when they themselves had killed the animal.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9



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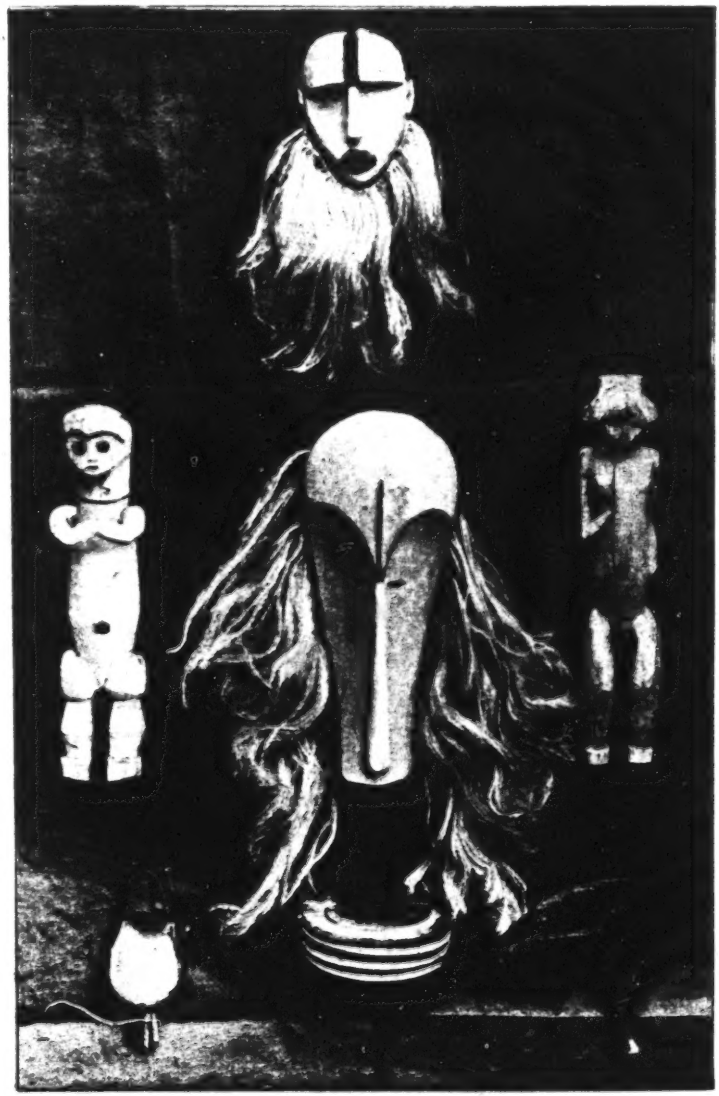

1 and 2, Ngi masks used in the Fang Secret Society; 3, 4, Fang idols; 5, Wooden dogbell 6, Ngi collar; 7, Sacrifice knife.

[p. 66(A)]

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9



now responsible and liable to two parties; if he is reasonable they all meet and talk the palaver. If the palaver is serious, each party appoints his *ntol* (ambassador). The palaver is usually talked in the main street of the town, before all the representatives of the interested clans, and before all strangers in town. The Fang are born orators, and remarkable gestures and orations are made while talking the palaver. The speaker usually walks backwards and forwards grasping and leaning upon a "palaver stick." He commences with: *M'zona* (I say thus); when speaking for another he says *A'zona* (he says thus); when speaking for the people of his town, *Ba zona* (they say thus). Sometimes the *ntôls* (ambassadors) sit in a canoe in the middle of a river or a stream, and talk the palaver, the injured parties being on either side of the stream. The case is talked, the goods demanded in payment stated, and an effort made to *kik nsang* (cut or end the palaver). If they succeed, then the palaver is *cut* (ended), and a dance follows; if no agreement is come to, the meeting breaks up and a tribal war exists between these clans.

*Salutations.*

There are three salutations common to all. Two friends meet, they each grasp the arm of the other, high up on the biceps; a slight pause is made, then the hand is slipped down to clasp the wrist. This is also the customary salutation used by the Bulu.

Two friends meeting salute by embracing.

A traveller entering the *abeng* (palaver house) walks over to the headman and sits on his knee a moment, at the same time placing one arm around the headman's neck.

Hospitality demands that all strangers be served food by the town women to strangers in the *abeng*.

Wives are loaned to guests.

Coarse conversation is indulged in by old and young of both sexes.

Considerable license prevails among the unmarried; less so among the married.

VIII.—*Invention, Natural Forms, Conservatism.*

*Invention.*—The arts in use are common to all the different clans of the great Fang tribe. Any new discovery as the working of iron is credited to the dwarfs or *nqui*. The natives are always ready to admit that the *nqui* are very clever; they have a saying "no person knows like a *mon nqui* (dwarf) what is inside the forest." When obtainable the natives use an imported saw, or file, and admit its superiority over their own crude tools. A Fang may be impressed at the knowledge and power of the white man, but is not greatly surprised; the reason for this is that many white men are credited with possessing supernatural powers.

Some of the clubs, tools and weapons approximate to the natural forms of the branches or roots of trees. Axe handles and the handle of a certain kind of adze have

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9



412 the natural curve of the branches. Stones are employed for rolling food, especially for crushing and rolling the *ngon* seed. Shells of large land mollusca are cut in half and used for spoons, small gourds being used for the same purpose. Large gourds are used for water dippers and bottles. Very many uses are found for the forest 824 gourds, not the least ingenious being the use of a hollow stemmed gourd for [757] administering a rectal injection. Gourds are used for the sounding boards of the musical instrument called *mvuk*. The people find many uses for bamboo. It is used in construction of houses, fish baskets and traps are made from it, fences to protect paths during tribal wars are made of sharp pointed bamboo poles; and small sharpened pieces of bamboo with poisoned tips are buried in the forest paths, point upward, to wound and poison the naked feet of an unsuspecting enemy. The 825 teeth and claws of leopards and bush cats, elephant tail, antelope feet, horns and forest beans are used in their natural form as personal ornaments. Leopard teeth are always considered valuable as *biang* (fetish) and are much sought after; they are frequently imitated in ivory. I have not seen the defences of animals employed as artificial defences, except as fetish. Long tough forest thorns are often used as awls [412] and needles for piercing and sewing skins. I once saw an *ngangan* (witch doctor) 763 perform a post-mortem examination on a woman. After he had discovered the cause 787 of death, which he announced to the expectant crowd as being due to "six witches eating her liver," he first pierced the abdominal walls with a long hard thorn, and then sewed up the body with a bamboo needle threaded with pineapple fibre. I 342 have seen only one cave dwelling; it was used by an isolated sufferer of the dread 734 disease called by the natives *mabata* (a kind of sloughing phagedina). When proper reed material for making thatch is scarce, large forest leaves are used, but they make very poor roofs, especially during the tornado season.

*Conservatism.*—The Fang are not quick to adopt reforms or to introduce new 185 methods; they are more or less the slaves of custom, and have a superstitious dread 186 of departing from ancestral habits. This refers to all the proceedings of life. Fang living in towns near Gaboon are almost daily coming in contact with white settlers, and to some extent, at least, appear to be changing their mode of living. It never appeared to me that a Fang had the same longing to be "just like a white man" as possesses the young Mpôngwe and Benga men.

## IX.—*Ornamentation.*

531 The patterns mostly seen in Fang ornamentation consist of bands, incised lines, elliptical punch marks, herring bone, lozenge pattern and cross lines. The natives do not possess a natural aptitude for drawing, and seldom attempt it. The few drawings I have seen on the bark walls of houses, supposed to represent men and women, were very crude and exaggerated in proportion. They have no idea whatever of perspective. They seem to interpret foreign drawings very readily. [322] The Fang show considerable skill in plain wood carving, using an ordinary native knife. I have noticed that their carving improves very considerably when an imported pocket knife is the instrument employed.